



## THE LIBERATOR.

BOSTON, OCT. 3, 1845.

MIDDLESEX COUNTY ANTI-TEXAS AND ANTI-SLAVERY MASS MEETING AT CONCORD.

[Reported for the Liberator.]

After the retirement of the business committee for the preparation of resolutions, the Rev. Barnard Frost having expressed a wish (which the president afterwards repeated,) on the part of those present, that the time might be occupied in speaking, by those who wished to take the opportunity, Mr. Garrison, after a long period of silence in the meeting, arose and spoke as follows:

Mr. Chairman, the silence which prevails in this assembly is not owing to any want of deep interest in the question which brings us together this day, if I may judge by the feelings which have kept me silent. If others feel as I do, they will not care to hear much speaking to-day. But why should we not speak, when such a question comes before us as that of the annexation of Texas? Because the time has gone by words, and the time has come for deeds. This is not the hour for talk, but for action.

Who are we, and what are we, Sir, if we hope that resolutions and speeches alone will secure our purpose?

What more can we say, in the way of remonstrance, condemnation, or protest, respecting this atrocious deed? Are we here at this period of time to say that it is unconstitutional? We might, if so, as well adjourn without day; for we are not the men for the times. We may, indeed, remain to protest; but what does the South care for our protestations, while we are content to be dragged at her chariot-wheels?

What did the government of old King George care, as long as our fathers submitted, though

Mr. Polk, if they knew that the Polk is a made President that there may be no such slaveholders to rule over them? What pleasure can they

take in a government which makes the honor of the country to consist in dishonest negotiation, trickish legislation, and the last resort of arms?

Having eyes to see, will they not see, and ears to hear, will they not hear, that these things are so?

But I am hurrying into a longer dissertation than I intended. I believe you already know my feelings in the present state of things. In the midst of the doubts and discouragement that surround us, I have but one single word of hope to present. Let that word be *Union*. Let the people throughout the length and breadth of this great land feel that without it, their industry, their property, may, even their lives and liberty, may in the course of time, fall under the power of an oligarchy of two hundred thousand owners of slaves! And then let them ask themselves whether this would be the result originally contemplated by the founders of our Republic.

I am, Sir, very truly, yours,  
CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS.

BOSTON DEMOCRACY.

The following resolutions were adopted at the late Democratic State Convention, held at Springfield; and, remembering the position assumed by the Democratic party in Massachusetts against the annexation of Texas as subverting the Constitution, &c. &c. until within the past year, they furnish as cool a specimen of political impudence and profligacy as can be found in the annals of party wickedness. They were drawn up by Benjamin F. Hallett, a man who has shown himself to be an unprincipled political adventurer, who, to subserve his own base purposes, would imitate the conduct of Judas in selling his Lord. Two other resolutions of the series were rejected, from policy, for which we have not room this week.

Resolved, That the admission into the Union of Texas—a country as rich and valuable in natural resources as the sun shines on—is calculated to add to the security of our Southern frontier; to secure to the West a commerce that naturally belongs to it; to extend the market for New England manufactures, and to widen immensely the bounds of our own invaluable Home Free Trade; and to increase the wealth, population, strength and glory of the nation. And that, in proportion as these great arguments have been urged, objections have yielded, and hasty judgment has been reversed, and hence this great national measure

is blighted and disastrous. *Others are fit for all who come within its unholy and contaminating influence*—moreover, we know that those whose sympathies are most actively engaged on behalf of the slave, are those who labor most earnestly in alleviating the miseries and distresses of their fellow-creatures at home.

As the friends of freedom and of equal rights we say, that while Slavery and the Slave Trade continue to exist, we cannot, we ought not, to rest in selfish inaction. There are some who stand aloof, saying, “I have no home nor any interest in this country; to sue we would reply, that Slavery is a greater evil than poverty; Slavery is a stain upon humanity, poverty is not. Wherever Slavery exists its blighting and disastrous effects are fit for all

who come within its unholy and contaminating influence—moreover, we know that those whose sympathies are most actively engaged on behalf of the slave, are those who labor most earnestly in alleviating the miseries and distresses of their fellow-creatures at home.

Instead of limiting deeds of mercy to those at home, ought we not all rather cherish the feeling in each other, that ‘Our country is the world—our countrymen are all mankind?’ There is, we believe, more true charity to be found amongst the poor than the rich—indeed, we have no hesitation in saying, that if the laboring portion of the population were emancipated and promptly the terms upon which it was proffered, she has manifested the strongest attachment to our republican institutions, and deserves to be welcomed into the Union with all our hearts, and the unfortunate man died on the 17th.

Resolved, That Mexico, whether tried by the doctrines triumphantly established by the American Revolution and by her own memorable struggle for Independence of Spain, or by the laws and usages of nations, has no just claim on Texas; and therefore, that a war to conquer it, now that it has become American territory, would be aggression and robbery.

Resolved, That Texas, instigated by oppression, achieved her complete independence of Mexico, and has long been acknowledged by foreign powers as a sovereign nation; and by inviting annexation with this country, and on its being declined, by waiting until, by the laws of nations, it could be honorably accomplished, and then accepting it enthusiastically and promptly the terms upon which it was proffered, she has manifested the strongest attachment to our republican institutions, and deserves to be welcomed into the Union with all our hearts, and the unfortunate man died on the 17th.

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Resolved, That the open interference of foreign powers in the settlement of this question, and the doctrine of foreign statesmen that it is their duty to maintain it for Europe, taken in connection with their struggle for territorial aggrandizement and commercial supremacy, call upon every citizen to consider such interference as insulting to our sovereignty, and such doctrine as contrary to American national law, and such cannot be submitted to without a violation of that independent spirit which is the precious legacy of the fathers of the republic.

Resolved, That the democratic and federal party have been strongly marked from the beginning by the desire of the former to extend, and of the latter to restrict the number and territory of the United States; that the narrow spirit, which in the Hartford Convention resisted the admission of new States as dangerous to the Union, is the same spirit that now threatens to admit the admission of Texas, and as the democracy of 1814 opposed the ‘moral treason’ of the Hartford Convention, so will it now oppose the like treason of those who avow the binding force of the act of annexation, and declare that they will go out of the Union if Texas comes into it—a declaration which they must now either fulfil solitary and alone, or admit the insincerity and folly of these second hand threats of dissolving the Union with which the old and the modern federal party in New England have so often attempted to scare the people into submission to their policy.

Resolved, That the wider the Union, the stronger it becomes, and the weaker will be the power of faction to rule; and it is that the friends of annexation, who have persevered until the accomplishment of this wise national measure, have proved themselves the true disciples of Jefferson, who held, in regard to Louisiana, (when the federal opposition clamored against its admission as they do now against Texas) that every State added to the union will be more secure.

Resolved, That the will of the majority having been clearly proclaimed in the annexation of Texas, it is the duty of every true American to acquiesce in that measure, and that those who now continue their opposition to the administration, as they do now, to Texas, will be as bad as she— betrayers of our sacred trust, and will be sustained by the united patriotic efforts of all the people.

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LETTER FROM DR. HUDSON.

SPRINGFIELD, Sept. 20, 1845.

MY DEAR FRIEND GARRISON:

Ten thousand thanks for this timely, sympathizing and encouraging letter; it was truly a cordial to my soul. In all of my anti-slavery trials and perils which have been various and numerous, none like the present has made me feel the need of friends, and given me occasion to feel so gratefully their worth while being dragged with the spirit of ruffianism from wife and children, and incarcerated in Springfield jail. Comparatively, it was a trifling affair. I was not dragged from my family to jail, to be sold as a slave to be driven under the lash. O, no! Yet such an affair was brutal in the extreme for New England. Here, in the old Bay State, I have a Georgia slaveholder lay violent hands upon me, and pour out his cup of fury, of despotic indignation upon my head; to threaten to make an example of me, to deter abolitionists from ever again attempting to interfere with Southern property, even here in old Massachusetts, to behold the editors of every newspaper in the valley encouraging and cheering on this desperate fit of desperation, and to think that this editorial corps was an index of the popular feeling; to witness the legal instruments of the people, ready to play the Judas, and betray an innocent citizen into the hands of cruelty, and like bloodhounds thirsting for blood, watching the back of their master, ready to leap upon me like merciless tigers; to witness the snarling and pointing of the fingers of those in places, and especially the frowns of the religious or else, unfriendly, unmoved and chilling as a great iceberg; to feel its influence upon the moral atmosphere, which lay heavily upon me as a cold damp night, was what I had not fully anticipated in old Massachusetts for yielding to the impulses of humanity, and for asking for the interposition of the Habacuc Corps in behalf of a victim of slaveholding power and cruelty. This is a case of slavery run mad. It extends all precedent of slaveholding insolence and cruelty in the nominally free States. From such a specimen of slaveholding spirit in the green tree, what would have been my fate in the dry tree—in Savannah is a question for those who are for supporting 'the Union—slavery is or slavery out,' to answer.

I trust the time is not far distant when the two countries will agree upon an international copyright. We have a common language, and ought to have the same law for securing equally the rights of authors in both countries. It may be worthy of consideration what that law ought to be, but it cannot, I think, be doubted, that whatever it is, it should be extended to the authors in each country. I am doubtful myself whether the granting of a monopoly to authors is productive of advantage to literature and to man. We do not find that men are indispensible to speak because other men can repeat them, nor would they, I think, be indispensible to write because other men can copy. There are many points of objection, or apparent objection, to this view of the subject. No doubt a publisher would require protection for a time, or he would not expend his capital in putting forth large and expensive works; and this brings one almost to the conviction, that to such works as Gibbon and Rollin, and laborious dictations, protection of property may be necessary, or they would not be written or compiled.

We have had a great outpouring of words here upon the question called the Maynooth question. The real point in dispute is, whether an increased allowance to a Roman Catholic college for educating the R. C. clergy, should be granted. The sect known here as the Church of England, you know, ousted the Catholics at the time of the Reformation, and since, they have converted their cathedrals and churches, their tithes, oblations and gifts, to their (the Church of England) clergy's use. They have thus appropriated amongst their nobility and clergy, from six to seven millions per annum, and this same clergy now cry out against the dangers of Popery, and under the affected fear that Protestantism is in danger, they endeavor to raise the fear that Christianity is in danger.

In this howl—for they have been very noisy and verbally obtrusive—they have been joined by many of the leading priests amongst what is known here by the name of Orthodox Dissenters. These have been, fanatically noisy, but they obtained a very faint response from the people, who, though but few of them think deeply about the matter, are nevertheless so far advanced as no longer to be very sensitive about dogmas, and do not seem to fear that man can be made to recede into ignorance. The art of printing is, and is generally thought to be, the great barrier against that species of backsliding. The Orthodox, having well aired their lungs on the subject, the more sensible among the Dissenters took the matter up, not with the hope of final success, but for the purpose of showing the people the folly of all State endowments and Church establishments, and to point out that it was a step towards putting another spiritual police upon their shoulders, and would probably end in adhesion to them with a double hierarchy of priests.

The last idea has not been so fully developed as many wished, but it has been worked, and a Society here, called the 'Anti-State Church Society,' has obtained some strength from this agitation.

The Unitarians have been pretty equally divided upon the subject. They have discussed the matter upon the ground of endowment, or no endowment, and those who have gone with the Minister (Peel) have gone with him on the ground that as the Catholic have and will have priests, they had better be retained in their hands of government, and be well educated. This class of Unitarians have laughed at the anti-popish fears of the 'no popery' bawlers, and have professed to see in the measure a step in education only. In all the cases, the motives to action have been various, and in some cases the real motives are not those which are avowed.

As for the motives of the Ministers Peel and Wellington, there is no doubt that their apprehension of the disaffection of Ireland in the event of a war, and of the necessity of detaching the priesthood from O'Connell, has influenced them to this step. O'Connell would not be driven into rebellion, in which case the 'Iron Duke' was prepared with 50,000 bayonets to convince the Irish that they enjoyed a paternal government; and the judgment pronounced against O'Connell by the Irish Courts having been reversed by the Whig law Lords in the House of Peers, the Tory ministers have been forced upon this mode of bribing the Irish priests, and keeping them quiet until the chapter of accidents shall turn up another page. Possibly the Ministers may expect, looking to O'Connell's age, that Old Time, with his scythe, may remove their great Irish trouble, and leave the people more at the mercy of their rulers.

To those who feel that they have an interest in universal progress, it is pleasing to mark the tendency of all movements and conflicts of this kind to the promotion of good; and the principles that have been put forward by many of the speakers in the variety of schools and meetings and lectures which this Maynooth discussion has caused, have been of the most advanced theories. The shouts of the mere dogmatists about Popery have been met by an allusion to the persecutions of every sect, when in power, and it has been shown that the profession of religion has not prevented them from forgetting Christianity and the distinction between religion which of some kind all professed, and Christianity which so few practice. It has been shown to the people more fully and practically in a few weeks, than it would have been shown from the pulpit in so many years.

With SLAVEHOLDERS! It has developed a public opinion, and exposed its character to that of slaveholding. Who can doubt for a moment that if there had been a strong, united and uncompromising opposition to the slaves in Massachusetts, as there is of its opposite, slavery, in Georgia and the Southern land, no guilty criminal slaveholder would dare to step up beside him with his hand upon his victim, and commence a malicious suit against a citizen of the old Bay State, for interfering in behalf of the liberty of the slave? The spirit of freedom would make the master. Who can doubt for a moment that he has some high-toned feeling that exists against horse-traders and counterfeitors in this Commonwealth, than against Southern man-stealers, that no such specimen of slaveholding audacity would come of the present? And who are mainly responsible for the present low-toned, servile, corrupt and misleading public opinion which prevails in our country? Those who manufacture it. Says the Rev. Mr. Peleg—truly!—The language of the ministry and the practice of church members give such a stamp to this enormous evil, as could be derived from no other source. Against all this influence in the Church in favor of the system, how hopeless are all attempts against it; while yet no one can doubt that the Church of Christ, in this land, has power to vindicate public sentiment on the subject, and to make the time when, in the United States and elsewhere, the last shackles of the slave shall be cast off, the world in this century, hold up the system in the face of a frowning Church? No man can believe it! On whom, then, rests the responsibility of continuing this system of wickedness—the people of all villainies? The American Church—the Douglass and Northampton Church.

Thus truly for freedom,  
E. D. HUDSON.

THE POSTAGE SYSTEM—MAYNOOTH GRANT.  
(From our English Correspondent.)

ENGLAND, August, 1845.

I received your letter this day, and shortly after the pamphlets to which you refer were tendered at my office, with a postage of 2s. marked upon them. This is a practice by which much that is good, true and useful is prevented from circulating by our Government. The post-office here is a monopoly in the hands of the Government, who, by penal laws, prohibit the people from carrying letters for themselves, and impose rates upon them so high as to prevent the spread of political information by suppressing the communication of mind with mind on the subject of human rights and knowledge. They know that in unity there is strength, and the aristocratic class, who make the laws, prevent, as much as possible, the people from gaining that strength.

There are few towns in England now, to which seven or eight trains from the metropolis do not go daily; and yet there are but two posts daily to any of them, and those two so arranged as regards their time of departure from the capital, that for the purpose of answering immediately and by return, they give the more advantage than one.

We can get a pound of cotton from the Antipodes for three farthings; but the pamphlets you sent me, weighing about a pound only, were charged 2s.—and they will now be detained in the post-office, and with others committed to the flames.

This is in consequence of the people having no influence in the Legislature. The law-making with us is in the hands of a class, who think they have interest opposed to the general interest. They are not wise enough to see that the interest of the many would be better for them also. With us, only one man in eight has a vote for law-makers, and more than one half of those are under the direct influence of the law-making class. If it were not that our courts are open, and justice administered in public, we should be but little better off than nations under a despotism.

I trust the time is not far distant when the two countries will agree upon an international copyright. We have a common language, and ought to have the same law for securing equally the rights of authors in both countries. It may be worthy of consideration what that law ought to be, but it cannot, I think, be doubted, that whatever it is, it should be extended to the authors in each country.

That Mr. Walker's conduct was 'legally wrong' is by no means certain. Many respectable people who contend that the slaveholders should not be molested within the limits of the thirteen original States, consider slaveholding to be unconstitutional in the territories. They argue that the Constitution was intended to secure only those States in the possession of their slave property, and that there is no power in the government whereby it can extend the privileges of the 'peculiar institution.' Besides the fact that a lawyer was employed to appeal from the decision of the District Court, that the case might be heard before the Supreme Court—where it was hoped that the encroachments of the slave power would be checked—proves that not a few abolitionists only, but many others who desired to ascertain the rights of the question, were not 'certain' that Mr. Walker's act was 'legally wrong.'

That Mr. Walker's conduct in assisting seven men to escape a land of liberty was not 'morally wrong' can be demonstrated as easily as W. W. A.'s arguments can be answered. A moment's 'candid consideration' is enough for both.

It is never justifiable for one man to take property of another without rendering him an equivalent.

This Mr. Walker's conduct was 'not done.' I am aware that such 'distinctions' are frivolous, enable us to discern the degree of merit which is earned by disregarding the injunctions of unjust laws, and what amount of punishment is deserved by him who infringes upon the rights of property which have been secured by equitable laws in any man.

But I have already occupied too much space. It only remains for me to say, that I believe the punishment of Mr. Walker to have been an unjust punishment. He is wholly guiltless. I hold that it is not wrong under some circumstances to break a law. Of course, I only countenance peaceable disobedience. Truly, unjust laws are bad; but I do not apprehend that 'anarchy' (which is certainly worse) will be the result of conscientiously refusing to comply with the wicked requisitions of the 'powers that be.' Such conscientious resistance of injustice, wherever it is manifested, cannot but assist in emancipating the mind from the dominion of sin, and must aid in restoring and establishing the authority of the highest principles of order. That the principle upon which Mr. Walker acted, would be, if generally carried into practice, subversive of all law and order in society, but such 'distinctions' are frivolous, enable us to discern the degree of merit which is earned by disregarding the injunctions of unjust laws, and what amount of punishment is deserved by him who infringes upon the rights of property which have been secured by equitable laws in any man.

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With the Atla.

MR. EDITOR: Among the incidents which occur every day, proving that freedom, justice and equality exist in our country, to a greater extent than in any other, allow me to mention one which happened this morning.

A young lady, a teacher in one of our public schools, accompanied by a young gentleman, with a little girl under their protection, went to the City Tavern, to take passage in the stage for Providence.

They had entered their names in the stage book the day before, and were told that the coach would be ready for them at 7:30 o'clock. Although the arduous duties of the school, and her attendance at the banquet of the City Government yesterday, prevented the young lady from making any preparation for the journey, until last evening, notwithstanding the most strenuous efforts, she succeeded in making her arrangements, and all were ready at the appointed time.

With hearts full of joy in anticipation of the pleasure of their jaunt, and their visit to Newport, they were about stepping into the stage, when the Ostler who drives it, stepped forward and said that he should not allow them to ride inside, but if they wished to go, they must climb up on the box, where they would have been exposed to the scorching rays of the sun.

The reason was not, as you may suppose, that there was not room enough for them inside. It was one 'peculiar' to our matchless Republic: it was because they were not born white. Two or three ladies came up immediately after they were refused, and of course, the driver did not presume to order them to the outside, but gave them comfortable seats within the stage.

The driver, although the insult was evidently agreeable to him, did not set on his own responsibility in the master. He probably had his instructions from the ostler, and his agent, who were both present. The agent told me that it was against his principles to permit colored people to ride in the stage, when he could get white people.

I will just say that not a single passenger in the coach, by word or look, made the least objection to their riding inside. Among the Turks and Algerines, and even in England, where some advancement in civilization has been made, such treatment of human beings, on account of color, is unknown. But here, we have attained such a high state of cultivation and enlightened refinement, these simple things do not excite the least notice.

What vile creatures our colored population must be, if their bosoms do not overflow with patriotism!

BOSTON, August, 1845.

A. S. P.

HOLLIS STREET CHURCH.

This noted church was yesterday re-opened for public worship, under the auspices, as we understand, of the fraternity of the Unitarian clergy of this city, the Rev. Dr. Frothingham giving the first service.

But suppose a person has purloined a treasure. Is a man justified in taking from the thief that treasure, with any intention other than of restoring it to its rightful owner? Had Mr. Walker succeeded in freeing the negroes, to whom he could have restored them? Amazing simplicity! Why, to whom should they be restored, but to the 'rightful owners?' And who is the 'rightful owner' of a man, but himself? And who is the 'rightful owner' of a man, but himself?

The 'slave-trader,' 'the African chief,' 'the monarch from whom they were taken' (never owned them. And the fact that 'they were never free' does not in the least abate the claim they have for the ownership of themselves. A. B. had ten thousand dollars left to him by his father. C. D. for a term of years kept him from coming into the possession of the legacy. At length A. B. institutes a suit to recover the money. C. D. attempts to set aside his claim upon the ground that A. B. has been prevented from enjoying his own for a long time, and therefore ought not to receive it! A funny plea! And yet it has a parallel in the argument that slaves are not entitled to liberty, because they have never been free!

Alluding to the purchase of slaves, W. W. A. makes some remarks which throw light upon the ability with which he 'discriminates' in questions of ethics. 'The planter who buys, makes no inquiries as to how they [the slaves] were obtained. The 'slave-trader,' 'the African chief,' 'the monarch

from whom they were taken' (never owned them. And the fact that 'they were never free' does not in the least abate the claim they have for the ownership of themselves. A. B. had ten thousand dollars left to him by his father. C. D. for a term of years kept him from coming into the possession of the legacy. At length A. B. institutes a suit to recover the money. C. D. attempts to set aside his claim upon the ground that A. B. has been prevented from enjoying his own for a long time, and therefore ought not to receive it! A funny plea! And yet it has a parallel in the argument that slaves are not entitled to liberty, because they have never been free!

Here are four particulars which I will notice.

1. It is the business of the purchaser before he completes a bargain, to feel satisfied that the seller is the real owner of the property to be bought. If he has any doubt on the subject, it is his duty to decline purchasing.

In the case of slaves, there can be no doubt that the master is the real owner, and that the slave is the slave.

2. The plea that 'some one else' will do wrong, if we do not, is no extenuation. W. W. A. is passing through a country infested by banditti. I am known to the fact, and thinking myself likely to be attacked by them.

3. True, 'if he pays for them, he has a good right to them as any one else.' But such rights are not to be respected. W. W. A. may load the Pennsylvania

who take seven millions a year, bearing education and their churches and cathedrals to be paid for out of the people's pockets, notwithstanding.

It is pleasing, however, to notice in the space of about sixty years, this great advance towards emancipation from the influence of priesthood; for this change in the conviction of the people will ultimately lead to our relief from its burdens. One result, is that an Anti-State Church Society, proclaiming how little being dragged with the spirit of ruffianism from wife and children, and incarcerated in Springfield jail. Comparatively, it was a trifling affair. I was not dragged from my family to jail, to be sold as a slave to be driven under the lash. O, no! Yet such an affair was brutal in the extreme for New England. Here, in the old Bay State, I have a Georgia slaveholder lay violent hands upon me, and pour out his cup of fury, of despotic indignation upon my head; to threaten to make an example of me, to deter abolitionists from ever again attempting to interfere with Southern property, even here in old Massachusetts, to behold the editors of every newspaper in the valley encouraging and cheering on this desperate fit of desperation, and to think that this editorial corps was an index of the popular feeling; to witness the legal instruments of the people, ready to play the Judas, and betray an innocent citizen into the hands of cruelty, and like bloodhounds thirsting for blood, watching the back of their master, ready to leap upon me like merciless tigers; to witness the snarling and pointing of the fingers of those in places, and especially the frowns of the religious or else, unfriendly, unmoved and chilling as a great iceberg; to feel its influence upon the moral atmosphere, which lay heavily upon me as a cold damp night, was what I had not fully anticipated in old Massachusetts for yielding to the impulses of humanity, and for asking for the interposition of the Habacuc Corps in behalf of a victim of slaveholding power and cruelty. This is a case of slavery run mad. It extends all precedent of slaveholding insolence and cruelty in the nominally free States. From such a specimen of slaveholding spirit in the green tree, what would have been my fate in the dry tree—in Savannah is a question for those who are for supporting 'the Union—slavery is or slavery out,' to answer.

Yours, EDWARD SEARCH.

JONATHAN WALKER.

My attention has been directed to an article with the above caption, in the last number of the Liberator. I propose to give that article a brief and candid consideration. I am well acquainted with the author, (W. W. Adams,) and know that in his extravagant introduction, he imitated the style of his favorite Macaulay. Those who are not acquainted with him, will be enabled, by the clue which I have given, to estimate the value of his assertions. These will pass for pretty hypotheses—and for nothing more.

The object which W. W. A. proposed to accomplish, was to point out a distinction, which though perfectly obvious, seems to have escaped the notice of those who have written upon this subject. He wished to discriminate between the man and the master. Now, the reason why other writers have not noticed this distinction, is because they would avoid a labor of supererogation. I agree with W. W. A., that 'a person may perform a very bad action without being a thief.' But the other writers 'upon this subject,' and myself, cannot see what bearing this 'action' has on the question, whether 'Mr. Walker is a thief' or not.

These remarks make apparent the position which W. W. A. occupies. The rush-light, with which he intended to illuminate the world, is but a flickering, feeble thing. Until he supplies himself with a better, he will not be able to do much.

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## POETRY.

For the Liberator.

TO THE RESCUE.

Hark! hark! it is the trumpet call!  
Rise in the name of God most high!  
On ready hearts the accents fall,  
And firm and full they make reply.

The hour hath come, to do and dare;  
Bound with the bondman now are we;  
We'll pour aloft the mighty prayer—  
We'll bend in God's own house the knee.

Stream forth from all your mountains green!  
Pour like a flood from every height!  
With kindling hearts and voices keen,  
Swell high the song of truth and right!

A mighty sound the region fills—  
A voice from all our fathers' graves!  
It comes from all our thousand hills—  
Woe to the land of human slaves!

From the Louisville Journal.

## ON ENTERING THE MAMMOTH CAVE.

By MRS. ANGELA E. WELBY.

Hush! for my heart-blood curdles as we enter  
To glide in gloom these shadowy realms about;  
Oh, what a scene! the round globe to its centre,  
To form this awful cave, seems hollowed out!  
Yet pause—no mystic word hath yet been spoken  
To win us entrance to this awful sphere—

A whispered prayer must be our watchword token,  
And peace—like that around us—peace unboken,

The passport here.

And now farewell, ye birds and blossoms tender,  
Ye glistening leaves by morning dews emparred,  
And you, ye beams that light with softened splendor  
The glimmering glories of your outer world!  
While thus we pause these silent arches under,  
To you and yours a wild farewell we wave,  
For oh, perhaps this awful spot may sunder  
Our hearts from all we love—this world of wonder

May be our grave.

And yet farewell!—the faintly flickering torches  
Light our lone footsteps o'er the silent sod;  
And now all hail, ye everlasting arches,  
Ye dark dominions of an unseen God!  
Who would not for this sight the bliss surrender  
Of all the beauties of your sunny sphere,  
And break the sweetest ties, however tender,  
To be the witness of the silent splendor

That greets us here!

Ye glittering caves, ye high overhanging arches,  
A pilgrim band we glide amid your gloom,  
With breathless lips and high uplifted torches,  
All fancifully decked in cave costume:  
Far from the day's glad beams, and songs, and flowers,  
We're come with spell-touched hearts, ye countless caves,  
To glide enchanted, for a few brief hours,  
Through the calm beauty of your awful bowers,  
And o'er your waves!

Beautiful cave! that all my soul enthralls,  
Known as the Wonder of the West so long,  
Oh, 'twere a fate beyond my wildest fancies,  
Could I but share you now as such in song!  
But 'tis in vain—the mutang child of Nature,  
I cannot vent the thoughts that through me flow,  
Yet none the less is grav'd thine every feature  
Upon the wild imaginative creature

That hails you now!

Palace of Nature! with a poet's fancies  
I've oft times pictured thee in dreams of bliss,  
And glorious scenes were given to my trances,  
But never gazed I on a scene like this!  
Compared with thine, what are the awfu' wonders  
Of the deep, fathomless, unbounded sea?

Or the storm-cloud whose lance of lightning sunders  
The solid oak?—or even thine awful thunders,  
Niagara!

Hark! hear ye not those echoes ringing after  
Our gliding steps?—my spirit faints with fear—  
Those mocking tones, like subterranean laughter!

Does the brain grow wild with wandering here?  
There may be spectres wild, and forms appalling,  
Our wandering eyes, wher'er we rove, to greet  
Methinks I hear their low, and voices calling  
Upon us now, and far away the failing  
Of phantom feet.

The glittering dome, the arch, the towering column,  
Are sights that greet us now on every hand,  
And all so wild—so strange—so sweetly solemn—  
So like one's fancies formed of fairy land!

And these, then, are your works, mysterious power!

Your spells are o'er, around us, and beneath,  
These opening aisles, these crystal fruits and flowers,  
And glittering grot, and high-arched beauteous bow-

ers,

As still as death!

But yet lead on! perhaps than this fair vision,  
Some lover yet in darkling distance lies—

Some cave of beauty, like those realms elysian  
That oft times open to our eyes!

Some spot, where, led by Fancy's sweet assistance,  
Our wandering feet o'er silver sands may stray,

Where prattling waters urge with soft resistance  
Their wavelets on, till lost in airy distance,

And far away!

Oft the lone Indian o'er these low-toned waters  
Has bent, perhaps, his swarthy brow to law;

It seems the requiem of their dark-eyed daughters—

Those sweet wild notes that wander o'er the wave!

Hast thou no relic of their ancient glory?

No legend, lonely cavern! linked with thine?

No tale of love—no wild romantic story?

Of some wane heart whose dreams were transiently,

And sweet as mine?

It must be so! the thought your spell enhances—

Yet why pursue this wild, romantic dream?

The heart, afloat upon its fluttering fancies,

Would lose itself in the bewildering theme!

And yet, ye waters, still I list your surging,

And ever and anon I seem to view,

In Fancy's eye, some Indian maid emerging

Thro' the deep gloom, and o'er your waters urging

Her light canoe.

Oh, silent cave! amid the elevation

Of lofty thought, could I abide with thee,

My soul's abode, my heart's lone habitation,

Forever and forever thou shouldst be!

Heres into song every thought I'd render,

And thou—and thou alone—shouldst be my theme;

Far from the weary world's delusive splendor,

Would not my lonely life be all one tender,

Delicious dream?

Yea! though no other form save mine might hover

In these lone halls, in other whisper roll

Along those airy domes that arch me over,

Save gentle Echo, sister of my soul!

Yet, neath those domes whose spell of beauty weights

me,

My heart would evermore in bliss abide—

No sorrow to depress—no hope to raise me,

Here would I ever dwell—with none to praise me,

And none to chide!

Region of caves and streams! and must I sever

My spirit from your spell?—Twere bliss to stay

The happy roves of your realms forever,

And yet, farewell forever and foray!

I leave you now, yet many a sparkling token

Within your cool recesses I have sought

To treasure up with fancies still unspoken—

Till from these quivering heart-strings Death hath

broken

The thread of thought!

## REFORMATORY.

## THE QUESTION OF SOCIAL REFORM.

To W. LLOYD GARRISON:

DEAR SIR—In my two previous letters, I examined four of the institutions of the present system of sedition, viz. Slavery, Free Competition, Repugnant Industry, and Anarchical Commerce. Let me re-state, that my object in this analysis is to show that the institutions of Civilization are utterly false and corrupt, and that, as a consequence, the system of Society itself, composed of these institutions, must also be false and corrupt.

In my present letter, I will continue the analysis, and examine another of the false arrangements of the present system. It is,

THE SEPARATION, OR DIVORCE OF CAPITAL AND LABOR, AND THE CONFLICT BETWEEN THEM.

The influence of this principle of our Social Organisation is most pernicious and monstrous in its results, and yet people in general are so little acquainted with the Mechanism of Society, so little study has been made of its constituent parts, that this principle is but little understood, even by the most advanced minds. I will endeavor to explain, as clearly and concisely as possible, its falsehood, and point out some of its baneful effects.

First, let us examine what CAPITAL is, and then what LABOR is—show the fierce battle that is now raging between them, the complete subjection of Labor, its oppression, and the frightful wrongs heaped upon it.

What is CAPITAL? It is past Labor, accumulated and preserved, and not applied to immediate use—or, in other words, the accumulated product of past Labor. For instance—Labor builds a house, which remains after the work is done: the house becomes capital; but it is, in reality, nothing more nor less than past Labor, or Labor which has been rendered permanent. Again, Labor produces grain or vegetables, which are soon consumed. The labor is not accumulated, no product remains, and, as a consequence, no capital is created. We see, as a consequence, that there is, besides inventive genius and the natural fertility of the soil, but one source of wealth, which is Labor,—of which there are two kinds, first, past Labor, the product of which has remained, and is called Capital; and, second, present Labor, which, with the aid of past Labor, produces the lust of gain, that now rules the world as did the lust of power in military epochs, respond servilely to that. Property is in danger.

Let us look into this, and see whether, in reality, this is so; and whether an unequal and terrible war is not waged by the Rich against the Poor; and whether the poor man's only property, which is his Labor, is not being taken from him—not by direct violence, and open plunder—but by what we may call indirect, silent, or unperceived revolution—that is, by the legalized power of Capital and its control over wages, by monopolized machinery, by anarchical competition, by class legislation, the license of free trade, and various other means.

We divided Labor into two kinds; past Labor or Capital, and present Labor. We may call these two kinds of Labor PROPERTY: the first, or Capital, is passive or accumulated Property, and the latter active Property.

Like every other principle in spurious Civilization, Property has been examined in but one aspect. Passive Property or Capital only has been regarded, and has received all the attention of law and legislation; while active Property or Labor (the poor man's only wealth) has been looked upon as a mere tool or instrument, and not as real property, although the Laboring Classes, or three-fourths of the population, have scarcely any property to live upon. Now all kinds of Property are entitled to respect, and its rights should be sacredly guarded, but this has not been done. Accumulated property, it is true, has received the greatest attention, and every means that human ingenuity could invent has been resorted to in order to secure it; but active Property or Labor has been mercilessly sacrificed. In England, for example, within the last fifty years, the price of Labor has been reduced to less than one half what it was, (we say one half, because we wish to speak within bounds, but in many cases it has been reduced to one quarter the former value) that is, the Laborer gets

—This result has been produced by the great improvements in machinery, which has been monopolized de facto by Capital, and has been brought to work against the mass, driving them from the field of Labor, and forcing the working classes to reduce the price of wages. Money is a mere representative or sign of real wealth,—a measure of values.

Capital and Labor are twin elements—brothers of the same family. Capital is the older, and present Labor the younger brother. They should lend each other their reciprocal aid in the great work of production, and divide equitably the product. Without capital, or the improvements of past Labor, present Labor can produce little or nothing; and without present Labor, Capital is unavailable, and yields no interest. These two elements, then, should be united in bonds of justice and harmony: Capital should aid present Labor by its accumulated stores, and the latter should pay the former a fair interest on the same. Instead of this union, they are separated, and in hostility and conflict. Fraud, oppression and deceit are practised in all their operations: but Capital, which is the elder brother, and the stronger, has the advantage, and oppresses and extorts from its younger brother, Labor, in every way that ingenuity can invent.

To be convinced that Capital is but past Labor, we have only to examine in what Capital consists. It consists in houses, manufactures, workshops, and other edifices built: in improvements made upon the soil, the vessels, rail-roads, canals, &c. constructed, in flocks reared, tools, implements and machinery manufactured. These are the things which constitute Capital. (Money is a mere representative or sign of real wealth,—a measure of values.)

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To be convinced that this conflict between Capital and Labor exists, we have but to examine the relative position of the two classes that represent them, the Capitalists and Laborers. The former possess all power, having the capital and credit of society in their hands, while the latter are weak and helpless, and must be of the former the privilege of toiling, accepting their price, and obey their dictates.

If we wish to see how Capital treats Labor, how it oppresses and extorts from it its product, go into the confined, dirty and ill-ventilated manufactures and workshops which Capitalists build, and where the Laboring Classes toil from twelve to sixteen hours a day until they become mere machines of toil, and beasts of burden: go on their wretched tenements, or on their vessels where a dozen men are stowed away in a forecastle as many feet square; see every where, in short, the toiling multitude wearing themselves out, bodily and mentally, to create the means to satisfy the lust of mammon of the few. Under the present system of what is called monopoly, to extort, to reduce wages, and outrage in every way the principle of justice, and the sentiment of humanity. See what full license is accorded to Capital to follow its own fancies, and its own sordid lust of gain, without the least regard to the rights and the welfare of the mass. With a murderous avarice, it builds miserably constructed houses without light, without air, uncomfortable and unhealthy, for the poor to dwell in, and comparatively enormous rents. It builds badly constructed vessels, exposing the lives of the sailors; it constructs, as we say, its gloomy dens of toil, called manufactories; and all these assassin-like speculations are decorated with the name of 'liberty' and 'free trade,' and excused under the plea that 'all have equal rights,' that 'the laborer is not forced to accept the conditions which Capital lays down,' while it is well known that want and famine are at his door. The Press and Legislation, which are controlled by the Rich, have been spoliated most shamefully and audaciously, and an air of legality and justice has been thrown over the tactics of Capital in its mercenary work of despoiling the masses, and taking from them their only property—the value of their labor.

And while wages have been reduced, the price of rents for houses and lands, and the price of living in general, has gone up, so that Capital has seen its income and privileges rapidly increase, which is equal to a reduction in the poor man's patrimony. As population increases, and anarchical competition becomes more violent, we shall see the value of the property of the Poor rapidly diminish, and the profits of it pass into the hands of Capital, which will not fail to cry out, while it is spoliating the toiling millions, that 'property is in danger,' that a war of the Rich against the Poor is being fomented.

PROPERTY is a word, around which a kind of sacred halo has been thrown—and rightly too. Now the producing classes, if they were intelligent, would adopt this word, and apply it to their only property—Labor. If Labor could once be seen in its true light, and a name of equal respectability and reverence with that of Capital be given to it—namely, active Property in contradistinction to passive Property—it would be much easier to claim respect for it, and have its rights in time secured.

There is a vast power in words; and if the reverend word 'PROPERTY' had been conferred upon Labor, which has hitherto been looked upon as a hireling slave, but which is the most important of all property, it would have given it importance, and opened the eyes of people to see the truth in the great discussion of the guarantee of property and its rights. This word has been applied only to accumulated Property, upon which it has conferred unlimited respectability, while its active half has been deemed vile and unimportant. The time has come when both should be rendered respectable, and neither should be despised.

2. Query. What is meant by conscientious attendance on public worship? That God is worshipped by going to meeting, by public singing, by hearing ministers read the Bible, by oral stated prayer and singing, in secret, in the family, or in the public assembly?

All understand this to be the meaning, as it was explained and enforced by the creed. The creed teaches us to 'take no thought for the morrow' on any day—not to be anxious about food and raiment, but about the kingdom of God. It teaches us to 'set our affections on things above,' and to 'have our conversation as becoming the gospel,' without regard to days or places. It urges us to be armed with the mind of Christ, on Monday as well as on Sunday; in the market as well as in the church. Not one word does it say about desecrating a day, but it is full of commands and entreaties against desecrating ourselves or others. Not a word about keeping a day holy, but the whole scope of the gospel is, to urge us to keep ourselves holy. The creed says, 'and unto the day of the Sabbath we are to be sanctified and kept holy'; but Christianity teaches us to 'take no thought for the morrow' on any day—not to be anxious about food and raiment, but about the kingdom of God. It teaches us to 'set our affections on things above,' and to 'have our conversation as becoming the gospel,' without regard to days or places. It urges us to be armed with the mind of Christ, on Monday as well as on Sunday; in the market as well as in the church. Not one word does it say about desecrating a day, but it is full of commands and entreaties against desecrating ourselves or others. Not a word about keeping a day holy, but the whole scope of the gospel is, to urge us to keep ourselves holy. The creed says, 'and unto the day of the Sabbath we are to be sanctified and kept holy'; but Christianity teaches us to 'take no thought for the morrow' on any day—not to be anxious about food and raiment, but about the kingdom of God. It teaches us to 'set our affections on things above,' and to 'have our conversation as becoming the gospel,' without regard to days or places. It urges us to be armed with the mind of Christ, on Monday as well as on Sunday; in the market as well as in the church. Not one word does it say about desecrating a day, but it is full of commands and entreaties against desecrating ourselves or others. Not a word about keeping a day holy, but the whole scope of the gospel is, to urge us to keep ourselves holy. The creed says, 'and unto the day of the Sabbath we are to be sanctified and kept holy'; but Christianity teaches us to 'take no thought